

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 JIDDA 06377 01 OF 02 170340Z

11

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
----- 129470

R 161212Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY JIDDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2433

AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS

AMEMBASSY DHAHRAN

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY SANA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 JIDDA 6377

EXDIS

8. THE SAUDIS WERE BADLY SHAKEN. PRINCE FAHD NOW SPEAKS OF THE DECEIT OF THE EGYPTIANS AND OF "SOME OF OUR OWN PEOPLE," (READ INTELLIGENCE ADVISOR KAMAL ADHAM). THE SAUDIS ARE NONETHELESS NOT RPT NOT DISPOSED TO DENOUNCE THE AGREEMENT; IN FACT, THEY THINK IT MUST BE SUPPORTED AT LEAST FOR THE NEXT FEW MONTHS.

9. PRESIDENT SADAT, IN AN EFFORT TO REASSURE THE SAUDIS, HAS SENT ASHRAF MARWAN, HIS SPECIAL ADVISOR, TO SAUDI ARABIA AT LEAST TWICE IN THE LAST WEEK. MARWAN EXPLAINED THAT MABARAK HAD BEEN SOMEWHAT OVER-ENTHUSIASTIC IN HIS DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ISRAELI "COMMITMENT" OR THE AMERICAN "COMMITMENT" TO PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, BUT IT WAS "CERTAIN" THAT TALKS WOULD BEGIN ON OCTOBER 15 AS SECRETARY KISSINGER HAD PROMISED AND THAT ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM ALL THE OCCU-

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PAGE 02 JIDDA 06377 01 OF 02 170340Z

PIED LANDS STILL REMAINED THE EGYPTIAN GOAL. MARWAN ARGUED,

AND SEVERAL SAUDIS HAVE ACCEPTED HIS THESIS, THAT IF A MAN OWES YOU \$1,000 AND OFFERS TO PAY YOU BACK \$100, YOU ACCEPT THE \$100; THE OTHER \$900 WILL STILL BE OWED.

10. AT THE SAME TIME, THE EGYPTIANS ARE ALSO TAKING A NEW AND LESS REASSURING LINE WITH THE SAUDIS. THEY ARE, ACCORDING TO ALL SAUDI ACCOUNTS WE HAVE, NOW TALKING ABOUT THE NEAR INEVITABILITY OF WAR. THEY THINK THERE IS ALMOST NO POSSIBILITY THE UNITED STATES WILL PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH PRESSURE THERE IS NO POSSIBILITY WHATSOEVER THAT ISRAEL WILL CONCLUDE THAT IT IS IN ITS OWN BEST INTERESTS TO REACH PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION WITH THE ARABS. THE ARABS THEREFORE MUST USE THE TIME TO PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR THE NEXT WAR.

1. ROYAL ADVISOR RASHED PHARAON TOLD ME HE THOUGHT THE ARABS MUST WAIT AT LEAST THREE YEARS BEFORE THEY CAN FACE ISRAEL (REF B). ZAKI YAMANI SAID THEY MUST WAIT AT LEAST FIVE - OR BETTER TEN. IN A DECADE HE IS SURE THE ARAB STRENGTH WILL BE SO OVERWHELMING THAT ISRAEL WILL BE COMPELLED TO MAKE PEACE OR BE ANNIHILATED. YAMANI - AND MOST SAUDIS - BELIEVE ISRAEL HAS ATOMIC WEAPONRY BUT "WE WILL HAVE IT, TOO."

12. ALL SAUDIS WHO TALK OF WAR ALSO TALK OF THE POSSIBILITY OF GREAT POWER INVOLVEMENT - HENCE A WORLD WAR. MOST ALSO BELIEVE THE UNITED STATES AND EGYPT WERE WRONG IN HAVING SETTLED FOR A PARTIAL PEACE WHEN, THROUGH CONTINUED PRESSURE ON ISRAEL, IT MIGHT HAVE BEEN POSSIBLE TO HAVE ACHIEVED A LASTING PEACE.

13. THE SAUDIS SAY THAT REALISTICALLY THEY MAY NOT HAVE MUCH TIME TO WAIT. THE ISRAELIS, THEY BELIEVE, PROBABLY WOULD LIKE TO START A WAR VERY SOON - AT LEAST TO OCCUPY SOUTHERN LEBANON; AND THERE SURELY ARE SYRIANS, IRAQIS AND MANY PALESTINIANS WHO ARE NOT PREPARED TO WAIT PATIENTLY A DECADE UNTIL ARAB STRENGTH GROWS. EVERY SAUDI WE HAVE TALKED TO RECENTLY INSISTS THERE IS NO WAY ANY ARAB COUNTRY COULD STAY OUT OF THE FRAY, SHOULD WAIT

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BEGIN. SAUDI WOULD AUTOMATICALLY BE IN ON THE SIDE OF SYRIA AND SO WOULD EGYPT.

14. ASHRAF MARWAN HAS ALSO REASSURED THE SAUDIS THAT IF THE WAR BEGINS ON THE SYRIAN FRONT, EGYPT VERY DEFINITELY WILL BE INVOLVED. ISRAEL HAS ALREADY PROVED ITSELF TO BE THE AGGRESSOR IN ITS ATTACKS ON SOUTHERN LEBANON; ITS CONTINUED RENEWED BUILDING PROGRAMS ON THE WEST BANK

AND THE GOLAN DEMONSTRATES THIS BEYOND ANY SHADOW OF A DOUBT. WHETHER IT IS ISRAEL, THE SYRIANS OR THE PALESTINIANS WHO MAKE THE FIRST MILITARY MOVE IS TOTALLY IRRELEVANT; ISRAEL, THEY INSIST, IS THE AGRESSOR.

15. THE SAUDIS ENGAGE IN NO BRAVADO. THEY ADMIT THAT ISRAEL, WHICH HAS BEEN EXTRAORDINARILY HEAVILY ARMED BY THE U.S. SINCE OCTOBER 1973, IS RELATIVELY STRONGER TODAY THAN IT WAS THEN. THEY SAY THAT ISRAEL COULD EXPECT VICTORIES AGAINST THE COMBINED ARAB ARMIES, BUT THEY ALSO SAY THE OIL BOYCOTT THIS TIME WOULD BE MUCH STRONGER THAN IT WAS BEFORE, THAT THE WESTERN WORLD WOULD HAVE TO PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO WITHDRAW OR FACE ECONOMIC COLLAPSE. THE SAUDIS ALSO RECOGNIZE THE DANGERS IN SUCH A POLICY BUT THEY BELIEVE THERE IS NO OTHER CONCEIVABLE ONE THEY COULD FOLLOW.

16. CONCLUSION AND COMMENT: MOST SAUDIS THINK THE PRESENT AGREEMENT WILL LAST AT LEAST THROUGH THE END OF THE YEAR. THEY THINK THAT IF THERE IS NO MOVEMENT ON THE PALESTINIAN AND SYRIAN FRONTS BY THAT TIME THE AGREEMENT WILL THEN COLLAPSE. ALL OF THEM, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED, HOPE DEPERATELY THAT THEY ARE WRONG, THAT THE UNITED STATES WILL PUT PRESSURE ON ISRAEL TO REACH A FINAL SETTLEMENT. AND THE SAUDI LEADERSHIP, FOR THE TIME BEING AT LEAST, IS TRYING TO PERSUADE RADICAL ARABS TO GIVE THE AGREEMENT A CHANCE TO WORK. THEIR LINE WITH THE OTHERS - EGYPT INCLUDED - SEEMS TO BE THAT THE ARABS MAY WELL HAVE BEEN TAKEN IN BY THE AGREEMENT. BUT THERE IS ALSO A FAINT CHANCE THAT ISRAEL CAN BE PERSUADED TO MOVE. IT IS THIS LATTER PROSPECT ON WHICH ALL ARABS MUST CONCENTRATE. THEY MUST, HOWEVER, PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR WAR. THE SAUDIS - PROBABLY ALL OF THEM - WOULD, IF GIVEN THEIR
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WISHES, PREFER A LONG PERIOD OF PREPARATION, BOTH TO GIVE A PEACE SETTLEMENT A GREATER CHANCE AND TO INSURE THEMSELVES OF VICTORY WHEN WAR COMES. BUT THEY

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PAGE 01 JIDDA 06377 02 OF 02 180541Z

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INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 CIAE-00 /026 W

----- 015634

R 161212Z SEP 75

FM AMEMBASSY JIDDA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2433

AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY AMMAN

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMEMBASSY CAIRO

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AMEMBASSY DHAHRAN

AMEMBASSY DOHA

AMEMBASSY KUWAIT

AMEMBASSY MANAMA

AMEMBASSY MUSCAT

AMEMBASSY SANA

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 JIDDA 6377

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y FOR SECTION INFORMATION

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NNN

Message Attributes

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Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 SEP 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
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Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: RR
Errors: N/A
Film Number: n/a
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Handling Restrictions: n/a
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Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
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Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags: ANOMALY
Review Date: 29 JUL 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
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Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
06 JUL 2006

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Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: n/a
TAGS: n/a
To: SECSTATE WASHDC ABU DHABI ALGIERS AMMAN BEIRUT CAIRO DAMASCUS DHAHRAN
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